

Message Text

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ORIGIN ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DODE-00 AEC-05 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01

INR-07 IO-10 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03

PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01

NSC-05 BIB-01 USIE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /082 R

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S E C R E T STATE 020504

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL: GUIDANCE FOR SPC

REF: A. USNATO 0432; B. MBFR V 0014

1. WE HAVE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON ANTICIPATED FRG REQUESTS
FOR REVISION OF OUR COMPROMISE (REF A):

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A. WE COULD ACCEPT REVISION OF THE FOURTH SENTENCE AS FRG REP HAS SUGGESTED, WITH ADDITION OF WORD "DIRECT" BEFORE "CONNECTION," AS PROPOSED PARA 4 REF B.

B. WE COULD NOT, HOWEVER, ACCEPT LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD SEEM TO INVOLVE COUNTER-PROPOSAL, AS FRG REP HAS SUGGESTED FOR MODIFICATION OF FIFTH SENTENCE, FOR REASONS WE HAVE ALREADY OUTLINED IN BRUSSELS. IF EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL BECOMES PUBLIC, WE BELIEVE OUR PROPOSED GUIDANCE WOULD SERVE JUST AS WELL WITH PUBLIC OPINION, BUT WITHOUT THE ATTENDANT POTENTIAL NEGOTIATING TRAP. TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT FRG CONCERNS, HOWEVER, WE WOULD BE WILLING TO MODIFY THIS SENTENCE TO READ: "ACCORDINGLY, THE ALLIES HAVE PROPOSED A NON-INCREASE COMMITMENT, WHICH COULD COME INTO EFFECT..."

C. ALTHOUGH WE WOULD WELCOME A DEBATE ON DATA, THIS SHOULD NOT ARISE IN THE CONTEXT OF A FREEZE PROPOSAL, SINCE THE PRICE OF THIS DEBATE WOULD BE TO ENGAGE IN FREEZE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WE WISH TO AVOID. ALLIES COULD OF COURSE CRITICIZE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL, IF THE SOVIETS WENT PUBLIC, BY POINTING OUT THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO NEGOTIATE A FREEZE BEFORE THE FORCES TO BE FROZEN HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED HENCE THE NEED FOR PRIOR AGREEMENT ON REDUCTIONS. THE ALLIES HAVE A STRONG AND LOGICALLY SOUND POSITION WHICH CAN STAND ON ITS OWN. IN OUR OPINION, RAISING THE DATA ISSUE AS A SPECIAL POINT IN THIS CONTEXT, BY SUGGESTING A WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE ON EASTERN PROPOSAL WERE THEY TO BE FORTHCOMING ON THE DATA QUESTION, SUBSTANTIALLY DETRACTS FROM THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR RESPONSE. WE WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION, HOWEVER, IF ALLIES WISHED TO INSERT A GENERAL REFERENCE TO PRE-CHRISTMAS DOCUMENT AT END OF GUIDANCE, AS NETHERLANDS REP SUGGESTS PARA 9 REFTEL.

D. WE COULD ACCEPT FRG REP'S TWO WORDING CHANGES.

2. REGARDING THE UK REP'S SUGGESTION THAT NON-INCREASE PROVISION COME INTO EFFECT AS SOON AS PHASE I AGREEMENT "HAD BEEN REACHED," WE SEE TWO POTENTIAL PROBLEMS. FIRST, AT WHAT POINT COULD IT BE SAID THAT AGREEMENT HAD IN FACT BEEN REACHED? SECOND, IF THE EAST CONCEIVES OF THE FREEZE

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AS A DESIRABLE OBJECTIVE OF ITSELF, IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT --WERE THE NON-INCREASE AGREEMENT TO GO INTO EFFECT BEFORE SIGNATURE--THE SOVIETS MIGHT FEEL UNDER LESS PRESSURE TO WRAP UP THE FINAL PHASE I AGREEMENT.
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